1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

825 774 769 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

793 828 787 775 [829] Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 828 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 787 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti makatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is
152 playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside
the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering
the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the
railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this
way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the
time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by
threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following or-
der:

[823] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either par-
ent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by
itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this,
parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12.0) to feed the family pigs. The boy
goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye
on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour,
with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the
boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the
infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her
friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks
up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more at-
tention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the
pigs.

809 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will
get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are
common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychol-
ogy.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of
discipline.

573 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
845 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if
they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex ap-
pears to be common in Pukapukan. According to one excellent informant most children were
unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son
was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother
said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and
assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother
this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-